1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

affairs. Men of proven wisdom and experience taught the young in the *telpuchcalli*, or houses of youth. Others kept the records of tribute and wealth in the clan storehouses, superintended the distribution of this communal property and even went abroad to supervise its collection.

Each clan had its elected officers whose positions dominated the administration of the tribe. One official, the *calpullec*, performed the duties of secretary-treasurer and kept economic order within the kinship, drawing upon the members of the body for as much administrative assistance as his task required. Ranking with him, the *teochcautin* acted as sheriff, preserving social order and enforcing it. In wartime he commanded the military forces of the clan. Linking the clans to the tribe were the *tlatoani*, or "speakers," the supreme council, composed of a member from each clan and exercising judicial and directive functions. The wisest men and the most distinguished attained this post, for on them depended the well-being of the whole tribe. (See Plate 39, top right.)

Just as the clan had its executive officers, so this tribal body elected four officials who controlled the military forces of the four quarters, or phratries, into which the twenty clans were evenly divided. They maintained order among the clans and exercised tribal authority in disputes and crimes that could not be settled by the clan itself. Two were especially concerned with judicial matters; the third was an executioner, and the fourth acted as an intermediary between civil and military affairs.*

These four offices were the proving ground to test the abilities of the supreme chief and the religious leader. In Tlaxcala* it appears that they jointly exercised the executive

*Tlash-cá'-la.

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[74] soil *which they might hold as their own.*[25] It would appear that, through loss of numbers in the course of their migrations, as well as through divisions among themselves, the original consanguine groups composing the body, had been reduced to *five*.[26] Now a further and last division took place, one of these kindred clusters seceding from the rest, and establishing itself apart on another sandy expanse where, close to the others however, it grew to become the tribe of Mexico-Tlatilulco.[27] It remained independent until about forty years before the conquest.[28]—The other *four* settled *each one by itself*, but still acknowledging a *common government*, in token of which the tribal place of worship was erected at the spot where these four areas met. Thus the "pueblo" of Mexico-Tenuchtitlan was founded; the seat and home of the Mexicans proper.[29]

[25] Ixtlilxochitl ("Histoire des Chichimèques," cap. X, p. 72), says that the Mexicans "asked the King of Azcaputzalco for soil" (to settle upon). Torquemada represents their settlement as a flight to a safe place (Lib. II, cap. XI, p. 92). Also Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXXV, pp. 147 and 148). Durán (Cap. V, p. 41), has the remarkable passage following: "que aun el suelo no era suyo, pues era sitio y término de los de Azcaputzalco y de los de Tezcuco; porque allí llegaban los términos del uno y del otro pueblo, y por la otra parte del Mediodía, términos de Culhuacan:" (This shows they were on neutral ground, dividing the tribes of their surroundings.) Tezozomoc confirms (Cap. III, p. 9), "estando en terminos de los de Atzcapuzalco, Acuihuaques Tezcucanos y los de Culhuacan." Durán (2ª p. 41) further says that they contended to be masters of their soil, without owing allegiance or obedience to any one. See also Tezozomoc (Cap. III) and Motolinia ("Epistola proemial," p. 8). Gomara ("Conquista," p. 431. Vedia, 1st volume).

[26] We have already alluded to the number of chiefs leading the Mexicans at the time of their settlement in the lagune. It varies from four to twenty. But the fact that four "quarters" composed it originally, leads me to the belief that four Mexican kinships remained, one seceding as the tribe of Tlatilulco. This division into four is the only fact reliably ascertained. (See notes 27, 29, 30 and 31).

[27] This fact is too amply proven to need special references. How it occurred we cannot ascertain, since it is related in the most varied manner by the different sources of authority. If the statement is correct that even during their migrations, the Mexicans proper and the Tlatilulcas kept apart, as tribal components, or probably "phratries,"—then the fact of their localizing as tribes independent from each other is easily accounted for. See Veytia (Lib. II, cap. XV, p. 135).

[28] The date of its conquest by the Mexicans is about 1473 ("Art of War, etc." p. 103). It can easily be verified from the date on the so-called "calendar stone" at the city of Mexico. (See "Calendario Azteca" by Señor Chavero.)

[29] The question remains yet undecided as to whether these four "quarters" ("barrios") were four original kinships, or whether they were already four "brotherhoods of kinships" (phratries), analogous to the Roman curiæ formed by (or rather remaining as the last vestige of) original kinships disaggregated. The latter might appear likely from the fact of the greater number of chiefs (than four), mentioned by the old authors. The existence of still lesser groups is plainly acknowledged at the same time. Durán says (Cap. V, p. 42): "On the night after the Mexicans finished the place of worship ("hermita donde su dios estaba"), a large area of the lagune being filled up and room made for the houses, Vitzilopochtli spoke to his priest or keeper and said to him:

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Four "quarters" had been formed by the localizing of four relationships composing them respectively, and it is expressly stated that each one "might build in its quarter (barrio) as it liked."[30] The term for these relationships, in the Nahuatl tongue, and used among all the tribes speaking it was: "Calpulli." It is also used to designate a great hall or house, and we may therefore infer that, originally at least, all the members of one kinship *dwelt under one common roof*.[31] The ground thus occupied by the "Calpulli" was

"Say to the congregation Mexican that the chiefs, each one with his relatives, friends and connections, shall divide themselves into four principal quarters, my house being in the centre among them, and that each cluster may build in its quarter as it pleases." These quarters are those which now remain in Mexico, that is, the quarters of San Pablo, of San Juan, of Santa Maria la Redonda, and of San Sebastian. After the Mexicans had divided into these four places, their God commanded them to distribute among themselves the idols ("los dioses"), and that each quarter should name and designate particular quarters where these particular idols should be worshipped. Thus each quarter was divided into many small ones, according to the number of the idols called Calpulteona (it should be "Calpulteoltzin" composed of Calpulli-quarter, and teotl-god), which signifies god of the quarter." (See Acosta, Lib. VII, cap. VII, p. 467.) Tezozomoc, cap. III, p. 9, "y siendo de noche hicieron junta y les dijo el sacerdote Quauhtlequetzqui: hermanos, ya es tiempo que os dividais un trecho unos de otros en cuatro partes cercando en medio el tempio de Huitzilopochtli, y nombrad los barrios cada una parte, y asi concertados para dividirse . . . ." Torquemada confirms these statements (Lib. III, cap. XXIV, p. 226), although he protests against the origin of this division. He says: "I confess it to be truth that this city of Mexico is divided into four principal quarters, each one of which contains other smaller ones included, and all, in common as well as in particular, have their commanders and leaders . . . ." He further says (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 543). "These clusters ("parcialidades" kinships) were distributed by calpules, which are quarters ("barrios"), and it happened that one of these clusters held three, four, or more calpules, according to the number of its people . . . ." (We shall investigate hereafter the objection of Torquemada). The same author, however, acknowledges (Lib. III, cap. XXII, p. 209), that the founders of Mexico were "nine families . . . These families commenced the foundation of this illustrious and magnificent city . . . ." One fact results beyond all doubt, that the first settlement of Mexico was made upon the basis of a division into kinships or consanguine groups, localizing on certain areas, which jointly composed the tribe. That the government was democratic has already been established previously.

[30] Durán (Cap. V, p. 42). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. VII, p. 467). Herrera (Dec. III, Lib. II, cap. XI, p. 61).

[31] Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. LXVIII, p. 194). "Estaba de ordinario, recogido en una grande Sala (ó calpul)." (Lib. III, cap. XXVII, p. 305. Lib. IV, cap. XIX, p. 396, (que asi llamas las Salas grandes de Comunidad. ó de Cabildo). We find, under the corrupted name of "Galpon," the "calpulli" in Nicaragua among the Niquirans, which speak a dialect of the Mexican (Nahuatl) language. See E. G. Squier ("Nicaragua," Vol. II, p. 342. "The council houses were called grepons, surrounded by broad corridors called galpons, beneath which the arms were kept, protected by a guard of young men"). Mr. Squier evidently bases upon Oviedo ("Hist. general," Lib. XLII, cap. III, p. 53: "Esta casa de cabildo llaman galpon . . . ." It is another evidence in favor of our statements, that the kinship formed the original unit of the tribe, and at the same time a hint that, as in New Mexico, originally an entire kin inhabited a single large house. See Molina's Vocab. (p. 11).

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174 organization and Institutions of the ancient Mexicans must have reached their ultimate development, to less than two centuries.[39]

"In the midst of canes of reeds" the remains of the Mexican tribe found their future home upon a limited expanse of sod, which even their enemies on the mainland seemed to regard but as a spot fit to die upon.[40] Although much reduced in numbers, the kins themselves remained and a settlement necessitated at once their localization. How this took place, can best be told in the words of one of the native chroniclers, the Dominican monk, Fray Diego Durán.

174 618 615 "During the night following, after the Mexicans had finished to improve the abode of their god, and the greatest part of the lagune being filled up and fit for to build thereon, Vitzilopochtli spoke unto his priest or keeper and said to him: "Say unto the Mexican community that the chiefs, each with their relatives, friends and connections, should divide themselves in four principal quarters, with the house which you have built for my resting place in the middle, and that each kin might build within its quarter as best it liked." These quarters are those remaining in Mexico to this day, to wit: the ward of San Pablo, that of San Juan, of Santa Maria la Redonda as it is called, and the ward of San Sebastian. After the Mexicans had divided into these four places their god sent word to them that they should distribute among themselves their gods, and that each quarter should name and designate particular quarters where these gods should be worshipped. Thus each of these quarters divided into many small ones according to the number of idols called by them Calpulteona, which is to say god of the quarter. I shall not recall here their names because they are not of importance to history, but we shall know that these quarters are like upto what in Spain they call a collation of such and such a saint."[41]

This statement we do not hesitate to accept as expressing gen-

[39] My friend, Prof. Ph. Valentini, of New York, has in hand the study of Central American Chronology proper, as well as Mexican. In his latest work "*The Mexican Calendar stone*" (published first in German as a "Lecture," and afterwards in No. 71, of the "*Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*"), he has given a general idea of his researches, but not any details yet about their results. If, therefore, I here admit 1325, A. D. as about the date of the so-called "foundation" of Tenuchtitlan-Mexico, it is subject to correction by him.

[40] *Durán* (Cap. IV, p. 32), *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. II, cap. XI, p. 61).

[41] "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 400, note 29, and p. 402, notes 33 and 35). In addition to the authorities quoted, I refer to *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. II, cap. XI, p. 61), and *Samuel Purchas* ("*His Pilgrimage*," 1625, Part III, lib. V, cap. IV, p. 1005).

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nine aboriginal traditions, notwithstanding the attempt, on the part of Fray Juan de Torquemada, to impugn its truthfulness and consequently its validity,[42] It results from it that while the kins, which for the first time in Mexican history are distinctly identified here with the "calpulli," are settling, "as best they liked;" the creation of four geographical divisions, composed each of a number of kins, is attributed here to the influence of worship or, as we have already termed it, of "medicine." This connects those, who subsequently became the four "Indian wards" of Mexico, with the four "carriers of the gods" already mentioned, and this perhaps may be considered a reminiscence of the four original relationships. Of these the sections mentioned appear like a shell, geographically enclosing a number of settled kins. The supposition is not, therefore, devoid of interest that they may have represented brotherhoods of kins, for purposes of worship and warfare. If now we substitute for *kin* the term "*gens*" adopted by Mr. Morgan, those *brotherhoods* necessarily appear in the light of as many "*phratries*."[43]

The time of this occurrence seems almost to coincide with a division (already indicated as in progress) of the original Mexican band into *two* sections. It now culminated in the secession of a part of the tribe and its settlement apart from the main body, though not far away from it and within the lagune also. While the "place of the stone and prickly-pear" (Tenuchtitlan) remained, virtually, ancient Mexico, the seceding group founded the Pueblo of Tlatilulco as an independent community at the very door of the former. It appears as its rival even until forty-eight years previous to the Spanish conquest.[44]

[42] "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 402, notes 23 and 33).

[43] *Morgan* ("*Ancient Society*," Part II, cap. III, p. 86) "The phratry is a brotherhood, as the term imports, and a natural growth from the organization into gentes. It is an organic union or association of two or more gentes of the same tribe, for certain common objects. These gentes were usually such as had been formed by the segmentation of an original gens." If we recall the manner in which the four "quarters" of Mexico first appeared, it will easily be seen that the analogy with phratries is indeed striking. Compare, "*Art of War*" (p. 101, and note 23, and pp. 120, 121, and notes 97, 98, 100, and 101). In "*Tenure of Lands*" (pp. 400 and (401), I have rather favored the view that these four were "calpulli" which subsequently segregated into minor quarters or 'barrios." I now correct this, having become convinced that the so-called minor *quarters already existed at the time of settlement* (*compare notes* 37 *and* 41).

[44] *Motolinia* (Trat. III, cap. VII, p. 180), mentions a division into but two "barrios" in course of time through increase of population. "Despues andando el tiempo y multiplicandose el pueblo y creciendo la vecindad, hizóse esta ciudad dos barrios ó dos ciudades." *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichim.*" Cap. p. 73), merely states they were

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174 Still, this low condition did not remain forever. The Tlatilulca
618 were in a measure "re-adopted" into the tribe. After this, they
[615] formed a fifth quarter, or "phratry," which Father Vetancurt (in 1690) mentions as containing six "parcialidades." But this rehabilitation never extinguished the fire of revenge kindled once among the Tlatilulca towards the Mexicans. The latter treated the former therefore, not as a tribe subject to tribute, but as a suspicious group, to which the rights and privileges resulting from consanguinity could not well be denied, but to which voice and vote in the leading councils should not be accorded. In this singular position, not strictly inferior, but evidently more "distant," we find the Tlatilulca at Mexico at the time of the conquest.[59]

or tribes, in which there were of both kinds, were those who divided themselves from the rest." (See note 44.) It is much to be regretted that the eminent Mexican scholar has not given us the names of these "Algunos escritores nacionales modernos."

[59] According to *Durán* (Cap. XXXIV, p. 271), they remained in a degraded condition for 160 days at least, or eight aboriginal months: "y que les durase esta penitencia y castigo hasta los ochenta dias del segundo tributo." But they were, according to him, relieved of it but conditionally: "y asi les quitauan aquellos entredichos que e contado, los quales, en faltándoles, eran tornados á poner." In order to comply with the demands of the Mexicans for slaves, the Tlatilulca were forced to carry arms again, so as to take part in the wars. *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XLVI, p. 75) confirms, but implies previously (p. 73) that the Tlatilulca were specially obligated to be the traders for Mexico: "y haveis de ser nuestros tratantes y mercadres en los tianguis de Huexotzinco, Tlaxcalan, Tliliuquitepec, Zacatlan, y Cholula." A similar punishment was meted out to them by "Stern chief" the younger (the last Montezuma), after an unsuccessful campaign against Huexotzinco, Cholula, and Atlixco. *Durán* (Cap. LIX, pp. 402, 469), *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XCVI, p. 170). It is, besides, positively asserted by the former (p. 271) that the "medicine lodge," or temple of Tlatilulco, was closed thereafter, abandoned and left to ruin and decay ("y asi dice la ystoria questuvo hasta entonces lleno de yerba y de vasura y caidas las paredes y dormitorios del"). It is, of course, confirmed by *Tezozomoc* (p. 75, cap. XLVI): "y asi fué que lo estuvo muchos años hasta la venida que hizo Don Fernando Cortés, Marquis del Valle, en esta nueva España, como adelante se dirá, á que me refiero." It is somewhat difficult to reconcile these statements with those of *Bernal Díez de Castillo* (Cap. XCII, pp. 88, 89, 90, 91. Vedia, Vol. II), and of *Sr. Icazbalceta* in *Cervantes-Salazar* ("*Tres Dialogos*," note 40 to 2d Dial., p. 201) to the effect that Cortes visited that temple of Tlatilulco and found "Stern
[114] chief" worshipping in it, and still more difficult is it to reconcile the relation of Bernal Diez with that of *Andrés de Tapia* ("*Relacion, etc., etc.*," pp. 563-566, Col. de Doc. II), who, as an eye-witness too, deserves similar credit.

Tlatilulco formed a quarter, a fifth great one, of Mexico at the time of the conquest. This is distinctly stated by *Motolinía* (*Historia, etc.*, Trat. III, cap. VII, pp. 189 and 191), *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. XI, p. 93) confirms Motolinia in general, (Lib. III, cap. XXIV, p. 295), *Mendieta* (Lib. III, cap. II, p. 182), "en el barrio llamado Tlatelulco;" (Lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 414), "y el barrio se dice Tlatelulco," adding (p. 418) "que son del mismo pueblo de Tlatelulco;" (Cap. XVII, p. 423), "El convento de Santiago de Tlatelulco que es como barrio de Mexico;" (Cap. XXVIII, p. 468), "pueblo de Tlatelulco;" (Id., p. 483, Cap. XXIX). That this fifth great quarter was again divided into six smaller ones, is proven by *Vetancurt* ("*Crónica, etc.*," pp. 207 and 212): "Tiene cuatro religiosos que con el ministro colado administran á más de mil quinientas personas en